1:Layard E-5 (1914-1915) 1942
0012 Malekula 0012

which lies due north of Raga, constituted for the Small Islanders, before the coming of the white man, the utmost limits of the world. Each had, and still has in their eyes, its special character.

Thus, Ambrim is first and foremost the home of the dead of high rank, who, wandering from the Small Islands down the east coast of Malekula, are transported by a ghostly ferryman to the opposite shore, whence they climb on to the volcano and there carry on life after death. This island (among the natives inhabiting whose shores Deacon discovered the 6-section systems of kinship already mentioned) forms part of the predominately patrilineal area to which Malekula and the Small Islands also belong. In this area, though matrilineal descent is given due weight, the overt organisation is patrilineal with patrilocal residence, that is to say that all men remain within their father's village and marry women from other villages. To this patrilineal area belongs also the southern part of Raga regarding which Père Tattevin has written an important memoir. These islands of Malekula and Ambrim, together with the southern part of Raga, are collectively referred to as the North-Central New Hebrides.

Immediately to the north are the Northern New Hebrides, in all of which overt descent is matrilineal, and in which society is based on what is called a dual organisation consisting of two exogamous matrilineal moieties. This division between an overtly patrilineal area in the south and a matrilineal dual organisation area in the north embraces both branches of the archipelago, the dividing line running due east and west between Malo and Malekula on the one hand and across the middle of Raga on the other. In the minds of the Small Islanders the dual organisation is particularly connected with the islands to the north-east, namely North Raga, Oba and Maewo, all of which are also regarded as the home of the creator-deity known in the Northern New Hebrides as Tagaro and in Vao as Ta-ghar. Particularly is this the case with regard to Oba, to which special pilgrimages are made for the sake of initiation into sex, and which white men have called Lepers Island on account of the light, almost Polynesian coloured skin of its inhabitants.

To the north-west lie Malo and the large island of Santo with its very mixed population, who, though also in the dual organisation area, by no means share the reverential attitude accorded to the inhabitants of the north-eastern islands and are visited chiefly on account of the turmeric which they produce and which is used by the Small Islanders as a basic dye for their few articles of clothing. Students of European colonial expansion will remember that the full name of Santo is Terra Australis del Espiritu Santo, so called by Quiros when in 1606 he, the first white man to sight it, landed to found New Jerusalem on a site now entirely lost.

Northward of the New Hebrides lie the two small archipelagos called the Banks and Torres Islands, which are beyond the ken of the

1:Layard E-5 (1914-1915) 1942
0012 Malekula 0012

Small Islanders. These islands also form part of the dual organisation area, and were the seat of Codrington's main work. Northward of these, with a gap of some 150 miles, are the Santa Cruz Islands, famous for their feather money, some 200 miles to the westward of which lies San Christoval, the most southerly of the large Solomon Islands, whence it would be possible to reach the Asiatic continent without once losing sight of land.

Seasons.

The climate of the New Hebrides is one of the least variable in the world, leading, among other interesting results, to the fact that there is no regular breeding-season for birds, each species having adapted its life-cycle differently to conditions which allow of breeding at almost any time of the year.[1] Being somewhat aside from the main track of cyclones, it is on the whole rather less unhealthy than most parts of Melanesia. Nevertheless, despite the fact that the climate is uniformly moist and rain may fall any day of the year, two main seasons are sufficiently clearly marked off to have an important bearing on the economic and ritual life of the natives. The first coincides with the south-east trade wind that blows from about the middle of May till the end of October, with July as the coolest month, which, under favourable circumstances, somewhat resembles high summer in England. During these months, when there is almost always a cool breeze and sea and sky dazzle in the sunlight, the Islands are comparatively free from malaria and the white man is grateful for a blanket at night. These are also for the natives of the Small Islands the months of plenty, during which the main yam crops are dug up and harvested, and during which most of the elaborate ritual activities take place. Towards the end of this season the marine annelid which white men call *palolo* appears during the night at certain phases of the moon. This phenomenon, heralded by the flowering of the erythrina tree in July, is eagerly watched for by the natives at certain stages of the moon's cycle during August and September, and its chief appearance on the twentieth night of the October-November moon is also the time when the dead return to visit the living, and marks the beginning of the New Year.[2]

This also marks the end of the comparatively cool, dry season. Now the prevailing wind veers round to the north-west, bringing with it a sultry equatorial heat. Clouds cover the sky, though still with intervals of brilliant sunshine, till in December squalls become frequent, continuing throughout January and culminating in February in the nearest approach to cyclones which these islands experience. This is also as a rule the hottest month of the year, and that in which fever and diseases are apt

[1] See the works of Dr. John Baker and Mr. T. H. Harrisson.

[2] The word *palolo* is probably of Samoan origin. Much misconception exists among white men regarding the appearance of this annelid. A detailed description of its various appearances and of its influence on the native calendar will be given in a future volume on Atchin.

1:Layard E-5 (1914-1915) 1942
OO12 Malekula OO12

the progressive increase in skill in the rearing of tuskers (another feature to be discussed later), these have on the whole improved in quality during each successive generation, and the memory of these improvements, resulting in ever greater curvature of the tusks, adds to the prestige of those who sacrificed them and also to that of their descendants. These facts, handed down from father to son, together with the ancestral stone monuments standing in every village dancing-ground, form a historical framework by the aid of which the natives of the Small Islands preserve a mass of information regarding their past history, and of the personalities and exploits of their ancestors. Since most of the facts so preserved are centred round the successive performances of the Maki, there can be no doubt at all that this historical sense is part and parcel of the megalithic culture it represents. There is also very little doubt that it is closely connected with patrilineal descent, for in Vao, where patrilineal descent has been comparatively recently introduced and the dolmen representing the female principle is still the chief monument erected, the genealogies do not go back more than nine generations. In Atchin, on the contrary, where patrilineal influence is stronger and monoliths representing the male principle have largely supplanted the former use of the dolmen as the chief sacrificial monument, they go back nineteen generations to the slaying by two brothers of an aboriginal man-eating ogre named Ias associated with an older layer of culture, memories of which still survive in South Raga, where legends are told of mythical baby-snatchers called *ias*, and the same word is used also as an honourable title for successful killers of men.[1] The two Atchin brothers said to have killed Ias nineteen generations ago were clearly the last representatives on this island of the former system of overt matrilineal descent, since their successor Iwas was their sister's son, and it was this man Iwas who introduced the existing system of overt patrilineal descent through which the inhabitants of the chief village on this now patrilocal island trace kinship with him, the youngest boy at the time of my visit belonging to the seventeenth generation of his descendants in the direct male line.

"STONE MEN"

The importance of monoliths in tracing descent is due almost certainly to the fact discussed on p. 699, that these monuments, now consisting of plain coral blocks, for the most part undressed, represent what at one time in the history of this culture were stone statues carved to represent the dead. Thus some of the monoliths erected for the higher ranks in the district of Seniang in South-West Bay (which in turn were derived,

[1] Tattevin, 1, 1926, pp. 409, 410; also 2, 1931, Tales XXIX, p. 879 and XXX, pp. 880-1. The same personage figures in the mythology of Oba as the man-eating ogre Taso (Codrington, 3, pp. 398-402).

1:Layard E-5 (1914-1915) 1942
0012 Malekula 0012

of any single Small Island today greatly exceed 400,[1] and that of the two promontories is considerably less. I shall, however, in the following pages make only very occasional use of this term, since the natives' own habit of referring to themselves by the names of their islands or promontories is equally exact and has the advantage of conforming with their own methods of thought.

The population of each Small Island is divided into a number of patrilocal villages in which descent is overtly patrilineal, marriage being regulated at first sight on a simple basis of local patrilineal exogamy. The exogamous patrilineal unit may consist of:

(1) A single-village.
(2) A double-village, sometimes comprising the whole of one Side of the Island.
(3) A group of villages comprising a whole island, as on Wala.[2]

Thus, in each unit formed of a single-village, double-village or group of villages, the population is made up of males all claiming descent from a common ancestor or ancestors in the male line, together with their wives, and their unmarried sisters and daughters. According to the rule of patrilineal exogamy with patrilocal residence, no man may marry any woman born in his own village or group of villages and who could thus claim common ancestry with him in the male line. Thus, every woman on marriage leaves the village in which she was born and goes to live in that of her husband, and the children born of the marriage belong to the husband's patrilineal kin. The patrilineal kin is thus a clan in the true sense of the term, with the men all congregated in their own ancestral patrilineal village and the women seeking husbands outside. The system embraces the whole area under consideration, since marriages take place not only with members of other villages on the same island (except in the case of Wala), but also with those of other Small Islands, as well as of the villages on the adjacent mainland of Malekula.

This pronounced system of overt patrilineal exogamy has given rise to the prevailing opinion that descent in these islands, as in other parts of Malekula, is purely "patrilineal." That this overt patrilineal organisation forms, however, only one aspect of the social scheme, will be seen clearly when we come to examine the kinship systems of the various islands.[3]

What has been said is enough for the moment to demonstrate the interdependence of all the Small Island communities and the dominance of the patrilineal principle in the regulation of residence.

With this common background, let us now briefly survey the social organisation of the various islands with regard to the arrangement and inter-relation of their villages.

[1] For exact numbers see Appendix I, pp. 745 ff.
[2] See footnote on p. 56.
[3] See Chapters V and VI.

1:Layard E-5 (1914-1915) 1942
0012 Malekula 0012

CHAPTER V

KINSHIP

I

THE BASIC STRUCTURE OF CLASS SYSTEMS IN AUSTRALIA AND MELANESIA

601

N.B.—In this and subsequent sections on Kinship use will be made of the following symbols current in anthropological literature :

F = Father or Father's.
M = Mother or Mother's.
S = Son or Son's.
D = Daughter or Daughter's.
Ch = Child or Child's.
B = Brother or Brother's.
eB = elder Brother or Brother's.
yB = younger Brother or Brother's.
Sis = Sister or Sister's.
eSis = elder Sister or Sister's.
ySis = younger Sister or Sister's.
W = Wife or Wife's.
H = Husband or Husband's.

Thus :
MB = Mother's brother.
MBW = Mother's brother's wife.
SisS = Sister's son.
FSisD = Father's sister's daughter.
MBD = Mother's brother's daughter.
MMBDD = Mother's mother's brother's daughter's daughter.
HyB = Husband's younger brother.

Terms such as Aunt, Uncle, Grandfather, Grandmother are not used, as they are applicable to more than one kind of relative.

m.s. = man speaking.
w.s. = woman speaking.

Thus : B (m.s.) indicates the term used by a man for his brother.
B (w.s.) indicates the term used by a woman for her brother.

♂ = male.
♀ = female.

611

IN Chapter III, I have given an account of the overt social organisation of the island so far as my information goes, and we have seen in Chapter IV the stories of origin and such details as I was able to record of the natives' own accounts regarding subsequent historical develop-

1:Layard E-5 (1914-1915) 1942
0012 Malekula 0012

ments. All these, it will be noticed, have been strictly from the patrilineal point of view, in accordance with the natives' present preoccupation with patrilineal descent and patrilocal residence.

There is, however, another side to the question, namely the principle of matrilineal descent, which is less obvious on the surface but nevertheless forms the foundation of the whole social system.

Matrilineal Moieties and Marriage Sections

We have already seen how Vaò is the most northerly outpost of the patrilineal area, which includes the whole of the South and Central New Hebrides, and that in the islands immediately to the north and north-east there is a dual organisation consisting of two exogamous matrilineal moieties with descent reckoned in the female line. These two matrilineal moieties are found also throughout the Small Islands in the social divisions referred to by the natives in pidgin-English as "lines," the word "line" being applied to that section of each matrilineal moiety that is found in any one patrilocal village. In this way each village contains two "lines," each such "line" consisting of those members of the village who belong to one of the two matrilineal moieties that extend throughout this wide area despite the overt patrilocal organisation. Thus, in the great Maki rite each "line" alternately acts as introducer to the other.[1] In Atchin the wooden images set up by the members of each "line" are for this reason called *n'ei weaweng*, of which the first word, *n'ei*, means "wood" and hence "wooden image," and the second word, *weaweng*, is equivalent to the Oba expression *wai vung* meaning "matrilineal moiety," of which the literal rendering is "'bunches of fruit' . . . as if all the members hang on the same branch." [2]

Similar "lines" are found in Raga and Ambrim, where in each case their existence is due, as in the Small Islands, to the influence of the matrilineal moieties on the overt patrilineal social organisation.

It will be noted, therefore, that in all the areas just mentioned descent is both patrilineal in respect of the overt patrilineal organisation, *and* matrilineal in respect of the exogamous matrilineal moieties. This fact led Rivers, in his attempt to understand the kinship system of North Raga, to put forward the suggestion that there might possibly exist in these islands what are called "class systems" of kinship similar in essentials to those found in most parts of Australia.[3]

Rivers did not, however, succeed in working out the details of any such system, and it was left to the genius and determination of Deacon actually to demonstrate the existence of a class system in Ambrim.[4] This

[1] See p. 294.
[2] Rivers, 1, vol. II, pp. 66, 75.
[3] Codrington, 3, p. 26.
[4] Deacon, 2.

1:Layard E-5 (1914-1915) 1942
OO12 Malekula OO12

617
171

doubt as to the essential correctness of this interpretation is, I think, dispelled by the name given to the seventh descending generation (SSSSSSS), who is called *yéng sun*, which Mr. Waley translates as "repeat grandson." This phrase agrees so precisely with the fact that, as we have seen, a 12-section system repeats itself after each sixth generation that, since Mr. Waley had made his translation without any knowledge of the facts now being presented, I wrote telling him of my interpretation and asking for more information. He replied, "The word *yéng* does indeed mean 'the same thing over again,' 'as you were' and the like. It is used on the Analects of Confucius when they are discussing whether to rebuild the State treasury on a new plan, or to 'keep it as it was before.' It is defined as 'same as at the start.'" [1]

3

FORMULATION OF THE EXISTING PATRILOCAL ORGANISATION ON VAO

TRANSITION TO OVERT PATRILINEAL DESCENT

611
174

I have mentioned this ancient Chinese system not only as providing a parallel with the system deduced from the kinship terminology on Vao, but for a second reason also, namely as evidence for the transition from matrilineal to patrilineal descent. For at the present day but little remains of the matrilineal element in China, where descent is now reckoned almost exclusively on a patrilineal basis, though a relic of the matrilineal moieties is still found in the practice of recording the names of ancestors in the direct male line on tablets arranged in two columns, each column containing the names of alternating generations corresponding to the "lines" composed of alternate generations in the male line of descent caused by the matrilineal moieties on Vao.

The same process has been at work in North Ambrim, which, as Deacon points out, is in a "transition stage to patrilineal descent." [2] Just how this transformation from matrilineal to patrilineal trisections has taken place is not explained. Nor am I able to explain through direct evidence the similar process that appears to have taken place on

[1] The above brief reference represents only one aspect of this ancient system, of which some of the kinship terms show signs also of a division into 8 sections, from which the 12 sections have probably been derived owing to the usual bisection of inferior moieties. An analysis of these terms was made by the author some years ago but has not been published, and it was therefore with interest that his attention was called, after the above passage was already in print, to a work recently published by Marcel Granet entitled *Catégories Matrimoniales et Relations de Proximité dans la Chine Ancienne* (Annales Sociologiques, Series B, Paris, 1939), in which he also demonstrates the 8-section basis of this system while pointing out certain differences between it and the 8-section systems of Australia.

[2] Deacon, 4, p. 701.

1:Layard E-5 (1914-1915) 1942
OO12 Malekula OO12

611 174 Vao. For, as seen in Chapter III, the existing social organisation in this island is now based not on matrilineal trisections but on patrilineal trisections represented by the three patrilocal double-villages. In this respect the organisation of Vao appears to bear a marked resemblance to that of North Ambrim, with certain additions giving rise to the bisection of the two double-villages.

FOUNDATION OF PETE-HUL–TOGH-VANU EXPRESSED IN TERMS OF KINSHIP

174 It is of interest therefore to note the development of the social organisation on Vao as seen in the stories of origin recorded on pages 81 ff. It will be remembered that the alleged "perfect" organisation of Pete-hul consisted of four Quarters said to be due to the direct action of Ta-ghar, while that of the rest of the island is "all in a muddle" owing to the intervention of "mere man." These four Quarters are said to have been founded by four brothers, of whom the most important were Na-va-gharu-kalat and To-rom-bambaru who, in the light of the foregoing discussion, clearly represent the two patrilineal moieties A and B in a 4-section system, and at the same time belong to the same matrilineal moiety 1, while their two "shadow brothers" Teter-wetaul and Narer-lumture represent the opposite matrilineal moiety 2.[1] This pattern, already expressed in terms of the four Quarters in Fig. 10, may be expressed in terms of an original 4-section system, as shown in Fig. 37.

By the action of "mere man," however, patrilineal moiety B became split, so that half the descendants of To-rom-bambaru and his "shadow brother" Narer-lumture seceded to found the offshoot village of Togh-vanu. By this action the two patrilineal moieties developed into three patrilineal descent groups, two of which remained in the four Quarters of Pete-hul, while the third founded the two Quarters of Togh-vanu. It will be noticed that this gives precisely the same pattern as the 6-section system of Ambrim seen in Fig. 26. Using the kinship formula, the fundamental elements going to build up the social organisation of the Superior Side of Vao may therefore be provisionally expressed as in Fig. 38.

EXISTING MARRIAGE REGULATIONS

582 174 This formulation also agrees with the three regulations regarding marriage that I recorded, namely:

[1] It will be remembered also that these two pairs of brothers represent opposite "Sides of the Stone." For the relation between "Sides of the Stone" and matrilineal moieties see p. 168.